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CASTRO MAY ORDER SEIZURES

K offers Cuba aid against 'economic blockade' by U. S.

By Kumar Goshal

DURING THE week of July 4, while Americans celebrated Independence Day, Cuba became a key spot in the East-West cold war. On July 6 President Eisenhower abruptly ended Cuban sugar sales to the U.S. for the rest of this year and Washington allocated Cuba's share to other countries, including 175,000 tons to Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo. Shortly thereafter, Western oil refineries in Cuba cut off the country's oil supply.

The Soviet Union immediately pledged aid to Cuba against "economic blockade by American monopolists." On July 10 Premier Khrushchev sent a message to Havana saying that Moscow would buy the sugar "if the Cuban government finds difficulty selling it." Tankers carrying Soviet oil sped to Cuba. Within the hemisphere, in Guadalajara Mexican Senate leader Manuel Moreno Sanchez announced Mexico would provide Cuba with oil if necessary.

In Havana, the Cuban Council of Ministers retaliated by enacting measures to seize all American-owned property in Cuba "when deemed necessary in the national interest." Premier Fidel Castro said that "Cuba will show the rest of the exploited Latin American people . . . that it is possible to march ahead without the U.S." He also warned other countries receiving offers of part of Cuba's sugar quota that the U.S. might take away their share too "when they want to be free and defend their interests."

Shortly after Castro spoke, in Mexico City Emilio Sanchez Piedras, president of Mexico's Permanent Committee of

Il Popolo, Rome

Congress, told a cheering audience in the Chamber of Deputies that his government stood by Cuba in the "growing tension" between Havana and Washington.

And on the same day that the U.S. vastly increased dictator Trujillo's quota of sugar exports, Venezuelan President Romulo Betancourt announced that his government "will apply sanctions unilaterally" against the Dominican Republic if the Organization of American States (OAS) failed to impose collective sanctions for Trujillo's aggressions against

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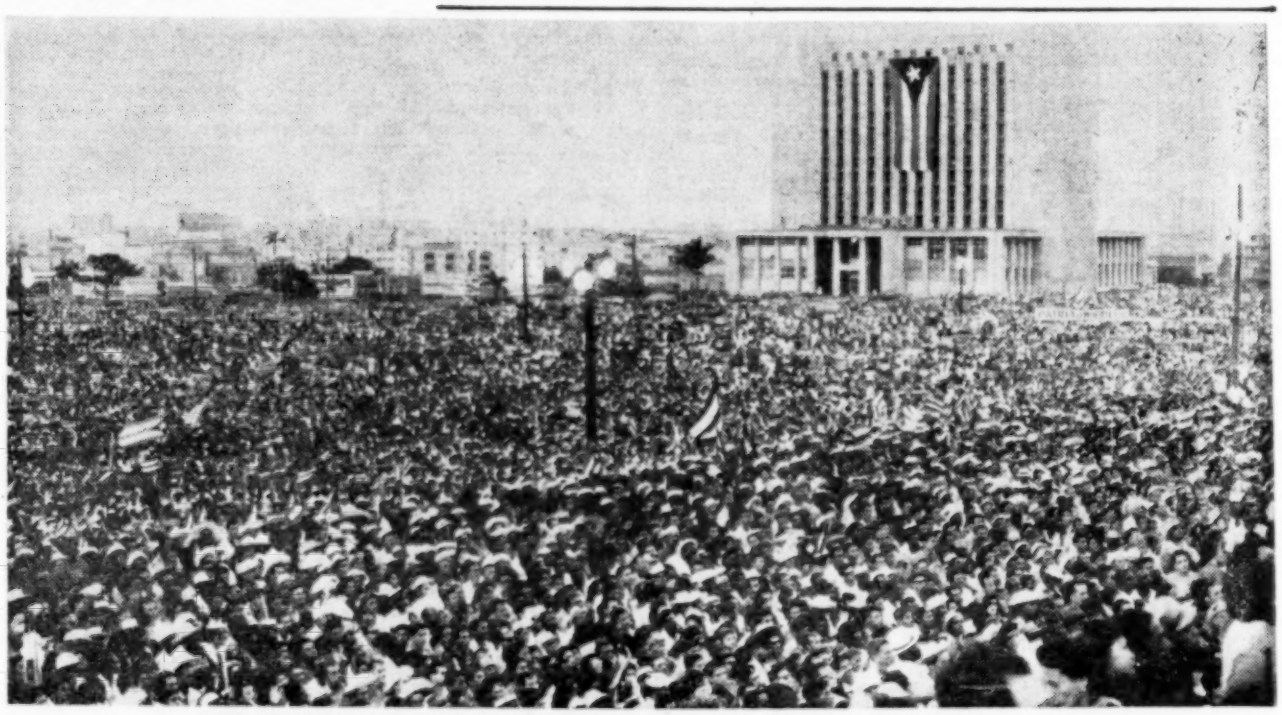

CUBANS TURNED OUT LIKE THIS IN HAVANA ON MAY DAY THIS YEAR
It is not likely that economic reprisals can turn the tide of mass support for the Castro regime

AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

Peace and civil rights command a hearing

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

LOS ANGELES

POPULAR PRESSURE for peace and civil rights broke through the professional dazzle of the Democratic Convention preliminaries with two huge demonstration marches here.

• On Saturday, July 9, 4,000 persons joined in a "Walk and Rally for Disarmament" sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, the Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Southern California-Arizona Conference of the Methodist Church, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Los Angeles Sane Nuclear Policy Committee, Methodist Youth Fellowship, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Nobel Prize Winner Linus Pauling led the walk; the rally chairman was John Anson Ford, former Los Angeles Supervisor and now chairman of the California Fair Practices Committee, Gen. Hugh Hester (ret.) was the main rally speaker.

• On Sunday, July 10, several thousand were led by Martin Luther King Jr., AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, in a "March for Freedom Now" to the entrance of the Los Angeles Sports Arena to present Democratic Party chairman Paul Butler with the demand for a strong civil rights plank in the Democratic platform. This was followed by a mass rally in the Shrine Auditorium.

YOUR NEIGHBORS: Participants in the "Walk for Disarmament" described themselves as "Your neighbors, average citizens who care deeply about what happens to our country and to our world." They were young, old, and in-between.

Famed chemist and peace advocate Linus Pauling was unmistakably the hero. A steady parade of the marchers came by to clasp his hand and express in varied ways what one woman said to him with tears in her eyes: "I want to thank you with all my heart People like you are the hope of the world."

Hundreds of signs told the aims of the Disarmament marchers: "Fall In Against Fall Out," "Viva La Paz," "Peace, not Pieces," "Trust in Truth, not Terror," "It's As Simple As AEC," "We All Go for Disarmament or We All GO," and "Pax not PACTS."

Leaflets distributed along the five-mile march from central Los Angeles to the Democratic Convention site in Exposition Park explained: "We walk to demonstrate our belief that essential changes should come through a new directive from the American people to our national leadership . . . We recognize the problems posed by the present conflict in the world . . . We believe these problems cannot be successfully solved by a suicidal arms race . . . and we are for stopping all thermo-nuclear weapons testing . . . a National Peace Agency . . . total general world disarmament as a basic goal . . . A United States foreign policy which recognizes the hopes and aspirations of all people for equality, freedom, economic opportunity and a peaceful world . . ."

Along the way the people in cars, stores, and on the sidewalks were friendly, from those with ready thanks for the leaflets to the news cameraman who sought the attention of the Humanist As-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MOURNING WILL BE LONG

Nye Bevan: His loss a blow to the Labor Party

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

ANEURIN BEVAN, deputy leader of the Labor Party and the only political figure of great stature in the Western world, has died at 62 without ever reaching the heights of power either in party or nation. Death took this brilliant socialist just when his party may be about to expire from acute loss of principle, and when most of its active rank and file were hoping against hope that he might recover to save it.

A Welsh miner's son who himself went into the pits at 13, Bevan devoted his life to learning the causes and cure of social injustice and to the practical problem of gaining power for the working class. For 30 years the mining constituency of Ebbw Vale elected him to Parliament by huge majorities.

He knew the frustrations of a workers' spokesman in a bourgeois debating society, which he found to be "an elaborate conspiracy . . . a social shock-absorber placed between privilege and the pressure of popular discontent." Soon mastering the techniques of getting under even Winston Churchill's skin, he earned the hatred of the privileged. In this he delighted—but by the same token his 100-proof socialism brought him into bitter conflict with the right-wing hierarchies of his party and of the trade unions.

THE ONLY LUSTER: In 1939 the party expelled him for advocating a popular front. As post-war Minister of Health he earned the only luster for the Labor government by fathering the National Health Service and the biggest housing program in British history, but subsequently, when Minister of Labor, he resigned in protest against the slashing of social services for nuclear "defense." In 1955 his anti-H-bomb stand almost got him expelled from the party again (both the present leader Gaitskell and the then aspirant to the leadership Herbert Morrison voted for it).

But political "realism" would never allow him to dwell long in the wilderness, and the movement's rank and file

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THE MAIL BAG

Corliss Lamont's idea

PATERSON, N.J.

I agree with Corliss Lamont that the U.S. should reject the present treaty with Japan allowing American bases in Japan.

I am in favor of his idea for a progressive action committee, and would agree to serve on same.

I am opposed to the treaty because I am opposed to our having military bases on foreign soil in principle, and opposed to our financing the governments harboring such bases.

James Ellison Parker

•

EDISON, N.J.

Dr. Lamont's reaction to our bungling foreign policy and his proposal to establish a permanent progressive action committee should be welcomed by all progressive people.

T. Giber

Carl Sullivan's idea

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

The response to my letter in the May 30 GUARDIAN requesting advice on how to organize to promote the idea of socialism has been so great that I am unable to read it let alone answer all of it. Therefore I am going to have to ask you to give me space to state more clearly what I had in mind.

The extent of the response only confirms my convictions that we have the material for a tremendous movement if we could only find the proper formula to bring together like-minded people. Today the liberal left is divided in a thousand little, powerless units separated by hairsplitting interpretations and definitions in most cases totally meaningless.

The obvious problem is to offer an alternative to the madness of present day capitalism; and can you think of an alternative except socialism? Why should it be so hard to get together on that issue? Everyone is asking the same question. The different socialist groups responded to my letter, as did the Technocrats, deluging me with material and appeals for subscriptions.

All of the programs offered were, uniformly, against sin and capitalism. Some were hopelessly afflicted with Russophobia while others were intent on some pet scheme.

At this point I don't believe it is essential that we have total agreement on all issues. But surely we can agree that we should have honest negotiations looking toward disarmament, and that we must look forward to some form of social ownership and operation of the means of producing wealth.

I am absolutely sure that there are enough who could and would embrace a minimum program as I indicated and I am also sure that such agreement would inevitably lead to a much broader and more comprehensive program in the future.

Carl Sullivan
549 Joan Way

•

SUMPTER, ORE.

I also want to complain about Carl Sullivan and a small group exploring the idea of forming an organization. Terrible, isn't it? Just as if there were not too many loafing organizations now!

Name Withheld

•

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Carl Sullivan's suggestion for forming an educational organization is one that must appeal to many Americans who are trying to contribute each in his small way to the vast and complex problem of human relations. It seems to me that in the beginning such an organization could best take the form of committees of correspondence.

Contributions to the solutions of our problems on a local, national and international level could be far more effective by working through a national organization which would make available a place to integrate the various points of view.

The GUARDIAN could, if the response to Mr Sullivan's letter is great enough, reserve a space regularly to report the development of such an organization and for hammering out an acceptable program of action.

Julius A. Sobon

Once a liar . . .

LAHTI, FINLAND

In Vienna and Stockholm, where I have been speaking since the torpedoing of the Summit Conference, few people are confused by the new lies given out by the press on top of the lies told by our officials when the plane was shot down. People here say once a liar, always suspect anything that comes out of the same mouth.

The peace committee here gave me the room where Khrushchev stayed when he was here—a big modern suite with flowers on the table and every convenience. People everywhere are eager to meet an American who stands for peace. **Holland Roberts**

The big risk

LOUISVILLE, KY.

W. E. B. Du Bois astonishes me by saying: "Forget the Presidency. It will make not a jot of difference whether Nixon and Chiang Kai-shek, or Kennedy and Cardinal Spellman, win the office. Concentrate on Senators and Congressmen, legislators and city councilmen and ward heelers."

Jesuit Father Edmund Walsh and others of that organization proclaim that "the U.S. position in Europe is worth a nuclear war." And it may be possible for a President to start a war without the authority of Congress and call it a "police action." Maybe Nixon is not much better but we must not risk a Roman Catholic. **Evans Keats**

On free speech

BRONX, N.Y.

It is not possible to equate the rights of all people. Every child must learn, often the hard way, that he cannot always do as he pleases. There is a conflict of rights. We have the horrible record of the Nazis. Their avowed objectives which they madly proclaim are intolerable. The Mayor did right in denying the Nazi a permit to hold a rally.

The organized defenders of our civil liberties are forever telling us that even a Communist has the right to speak in public. But they are in gross error in likening the unpopularity of the Communists to the unpopularity of the Nazis. For the Communists and the Nazis are at opposite poles in both thought and action. The civil rights of such diverse elements cannot be equated. **Charles J. Hendley**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

DALAFIELD, Wis., June 28, (UPI) — The Raconteurs, an all-male Wisconsin writers organization, yesterday shouted down suggestions that wives be allowed to organize a women's auxiliary, Herbert P. Showelter of West Bend called the idea "tantamount to allowing communists to join."

—Spokane **Daily Chronicle**, June 28

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A. J., Spokane, Wash.

Stamwitz, Steel Labor

"How's that old pain in the lower backside? Still working for him?"

Truthful bombs

SITKA, ALASKA

In the May 16 issue of the GUARDIAN you sure exploded a truthful bomb in exposing "The Summit wreckers at work," even before the Summit talks had started.

Today (May 29) I read in Hearst's Seattle **Post-Intelligencer** an item, written by Jack Lotto, berating the GUARDIAN as a pro-Communist publication. The GUARDIAN of May 23 has not arrived us yet, so I can only guess that you sure "hit the nail on the head" and the pro-Summit wreckers know it and would silence you if they could.

Owen C. Rademacher

Sharing the blame

MIRROR LAKE, B.C.

We want to give you full credit for speaking out frankly, especially in your May 16 and 23 issues.

Although direct guilt falls on their leadership, the people must also be blamed for letting themselves be deceived for so many years by a voterie of corrupt scoundrels.

The Western press and radio are truly masters of distortion.

E. P. Granger

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ONE BIG QUESTION was being studied in Washington last week: Should the U.S. be made an absolute police state at one bold stroke or should it be done piecemeal? The GUARDIAN's correspondent John B. Stone wrote:

"W. Stuart Symington, former Air Force chief and now chairman of the all-powerful National Security Resources Board, is in favor of doing it all at once. He has retained the blueprint worked out by his predecessor, special Presidential assistant John R. Steelman, which was exposed by the GUARDIAN some six months ago. The plan would give the President and his agencies the right to enforce universal manpower controls, absolute power over prices, wages, working conditions, complete authority over production and allocations, and absolute Federal police power over the lives of entire communities engaged in any kind of war production.

"Men and women would be compelled to work, without the right to quit, at jobs declared necessary. The FBI and special police under them would be in charge of civil defense in all production communities. Symington's chief pokesman told the GUARDIAN: 'That is the sensible thing. Do it all at once. But you never can tell what Truman may be forced to do. Some special problem may come up that demands special action. So he may do it piecemeal after all.'"

—From the National Guardian, July 19, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

A helping hand

WHAT THE PEOPLE OF CUBA need from the people of the United States—and have needed for all the 62 years of Cuba's independence from Spain—is a helping hand. Instead, for all the years which preceded the revolution led by Fidel Castro and the men and women of the July 26 Movement, they received the harshest economic exploitation and U.S. support of an almost unbroken succession of misrulers.

The excellent new book, **Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution**, by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy ($2.50 until July 26, $3.50 thereafter from Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14) describes the relationship almost from the beginning, in the words of author Leland H. Jenks (**Our Cuban Colony**), as "vassalage to a foreign colossus." What this has meant to a Cuban child, in a country where 54% of the rural population had never had toilet facilities of any kind, is described in a quotation from **Castro, Cuba and Justice** by Chicago newspaperman Ray Brennan:

"Parasites grow and multiply within the bodies of little children. Some of those worms, the size of an ordinary lead pencil, gather in clusters or balls, clog the intestinal system, block elimination, and cause anguished deaths. Such parasites often get into the body through the soles of the feet of children walking without shoes on infected ground. After a child dies, the parasites may come slithering from the mouth and nasal passages, searching for a living organism on which to feed. What has been done about it over the years? Nothing."

For determining to end such exploitation and seeking to devote Cuba's natural riches to bettering the lives of its people, the revolutionary regime of Fidel Castro—the first in all Cuba's history devoted solely to the Cuban people—is now being subjected to severe economic sanctions and open threats of intervention by the U.S.

GUARDIAN readers can and will voice their opposition to this build-up for the reconquest of Cuba by U.S. big business. And in our own modest way, some of us will extend to the Cuban people our hands of friendship and good hopes on the occasion of our tour to Cuba, taking off perhaps 100-strong on July 24 for a fortnight visit.

IT IS A PLEASURE TO REPORT, in this connection, that the winner of the Grand Prize in our Spring Circulation Contest—a free trip to Cuba with our party—has been won by Samuel ("Grisha") Dubow of Brooklyn, a paperhanger by trade, a member of the Jewish Philharmonic Peoples' Chorus, writer and translator of Chekhov and other Russian classics into Yiddish, a music critic for the Yiddish press, and a painter of ability who studied with Marc Chagall.

An old hand at GUARDIAN sub-getting, our friend Grisha explained how he stepped up his efforts by taking his GUARDIAN sub blanks —along with a supply of recordings of the Philharmonic Chorus—on his paper-hanging jobs.

An irresistible persuader, Grisha sold his customers on the virtues of his assorted wares by various arguments, but his clincher was to threaten to hang the wallpaper upside down. By this and other means obviously not available to multitudes of GUARDIAN subgetters, Grisha came into the closing stretch with a fistful of more than 100 Contest points, far outdistancing any other competitor.

As the Contest went otherwise, hundreds went to work to the extent of turning in scores of a half dozen points or so but only four amassed totals above the ten points entitling contestants to the minimum prize of a choice of Guardian Buying Service record albums. A Los Angeles man won the Kolibri portable typewriter, an upstate New York woman won the Yashica 8-mm. movie camera, a San Francisco woman won the transistor radio, and a Staten Island man won the binoculars.

WE ASKED Our Man in Havana how the Cuban people might be expected to react to a plane-load of Americans such as the GUARDIAN tourists setting down in Havana on July 24, in the wake of all the current official and press bombast in the U.S. against the Castro government. His reply, authorized by the Ministry of State:

"Cuba has no quarrel with the American nation. We do have some quarrels with some American monopolies . . .

"Any American who is not an agent of American international monopolies is most welcome in Cuba."

We can assure our Cuban friends that there will not be a monopoly in our planeload—unless it be the GUARDIAN's own near monopoly on good words for Cuba in the U.S. press. **—THE GUARDIAN**

ELEVEN KILLED, THOUSANDS JAILED IN DEMONSTRATIONS

The issues behind the political crisis in Italy

Popular discontent against Italian Premier Fernando Tambroni's Fascist-supported government erupted into the open at the end of last month and spread throughout Italy, even into the Senate. Police fired on strikers and demonstrators. When quiet was restored on July 9, the score stood at 11 killed, hundreds injured and thousands jailed.

Demonstrations started when the Tambroni government granted the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement——with whose support Tambroni maintains a majority in parliament—permission to hold its annual congress on July 2 in Genoa, despite protest from the opposition in Parliament. In the face of mass demonstrations in Genoa, Turin and other cities, Tambroni was forced to cancel the congress on the day it was to open.

By that time workers, farmers and former resistance fighters had been thoroughly aroused against the administration. Mass anti-Fascist demonstrations were held in Rome, Florence and other cities of Italy and Sicily, and workers went on strike in northern Italy. Mounted police charged into the demonstrators, used tear gas and opened fire when they refused to disperse.

The Communist Party called for a nation-wide strike on July 8, and there was bloodshed again when police opened fire on the strikers. Several CP Senators and Deputies participating in the anti-fascist demonstrations in Rome were arrested and two were injured in the police attack. When the opposition in Parliament protested the police brutality, supporters and opponents of the government exchanged blows.

It was generally conceded that the Tambroni government had only a slim chance of survival. Not only the CP and Nenni SP government members, who together hold 229 of the 596 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, but many Christian Democrats who supported Tambroni as well as the Left CD members who opposed him are asking the Premier to step down. They were scheduled to question Tambroni on July 12 and were reported to be considering a vote of no confidence the following day.

The following article was written before the current disturbances, but examines the issues that led up to them.

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

ROME

ITALY'S POLITICAL crisis began Feb. 24 when the Liberals withdrew their support from the government and Premier Antonio Segni resigned rather than continue in office by courtesy of the extreme right. Segni's subsequent negotiations for a center-left government were abandoned for undisclosed reasons. The extreme right parties then threatened to withdraw from the 28 municipal councils, including Rome, in which they share power with the Christian Democrats, and from the regional government of Sicily where they cooperated with the CD to overthrow the left-supported Milazzo regime.

Yielding to this blackmail, Fernando Tambroni tried to form a government

with the Right. His effort quickly collapsed when his own party revolted. Amintore Fanfani, leader of the CD's left wing, was then called upon. His efforts were defeated by a massive campaign led by the powerful Catholic Action, the most reactionary elements in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and extreme rightists. Tambroni, not without much difficulty from his own party, then returned to form a government with the Right, a so-called caretaker government which was to have resigned in October. "Which October?" asked Italians. Far from solving the crisis, this "solution" only deepened it.

ANGER AND REVOLT: With the formation of Fernando Tambroni's government, the Right has defeated for the moment the rising popular demand for a new orientation. But no one believes the matter can end there.

The failure of the divided Christian Democratic Party to form a center-left government has brought it to the verge of a split. The CD party embraces many trends from the right to the left and the trade unions. That part of its rank and file which fought with the resistance and remains anti-fascist does not accept either its present open alliance with fascists and monarchists or its increasing clerical-fascist policies.

The decision of the party leaders to abandon, or sabotage, efforts for a center-left government caused anger, mistrust and revolt in Christian Democratic organizations throughout the country, especially in the party's provincial apparatus and supporting associations.

BITTER CLASH: At the last such Congress in October at Florence, representatives of the middle class and the Catholic masses clashed bitterly with spokesmen for the party's big business, land and church interests. The former, although lacking any united policy, in general want planned state measures to counter the growing economic crisis, a more independent policy toward big business groups, and recognition of the need for a new foreign policy. These groups now feel betrayed, as do many others who simply oppose alliance with the fascists.

A shifting of forces in the country is apparent in joint actions undertaken recently, especially this year, by the left parties and some groups among the Christian Democrats. These include:

- A campaign to carry out the Constitutional requirement for regional governments throughout Italy, always blocked by the right and the ruling CD faction. Meetings and conventions were held jointly by Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Republicans, Radicals, and some Christian Democrats in many regions.
- Achievement of democratic majority governments in the Val D'Aosta region (where Communists participated) and in Sicily, where a government composed of Christian Socials (a split-off from the CD) and independents was supported by Communists and Socialists. (This government finally fell to an alliance of fascists and Christian Democrats, fronting for the big electric power and industrial monopolies.)
- A campaign against the great electric power monopolies whose high prices are squeezing out small farmers and small industrialists. In Milan a popular alliance of nearly all political forces was formed demanding nationalization of the Edison monopoly. The measure was defeated by the Municipal Council but the Council was forced to municipalize the gas services.
- Increasing pressure for structural reform from the Christian Democratic trade union organization, the Associazione Christiane Lavoratori Italiani, and its participation in some actions with the left unions.
- United action against the sugar monopolies by the Christian Democratic farmers' organization, the Coltivatori Diretti or Bonomiana, and the left-wing farmers alliance, Alleanza Nationale dei Contadini, during the sugar beet crisis in Veneto, Emilia, and Fucino; and participation by elements of the Coltivatori Diretti in the thousand or more municipal demonstrations organized by the left-wing Alleanza against financial pressure on farmers because of their political orientation.

MARCH ON ROME: Faced with this realignment, now in motion, the Right is mobilizing for a new March on Rome. Paolo Bonomi, leader of the Coltivatori Diretti, threatened during the recent government crisis: "Next week will bring 40,000 farmers to Rome [for the organization's National Congress]. I can bring five times that many. We shall see on whose side the base of the party lies."

Bonomi's boast that, through his 1,500,000 members, he controls 6,000,000 votes and 20,000 provincial and municipal councilors is exaggerated, since even left-wing farmers often are compelled to join for economic reasons. But it is true that the question of the peasantry is a decisive one for the future of Italy: with the present relative balance between the Right and the Left, the direction in which the peasants move will determine the future.

Today the majority of sharecroppers and agricultural laborers vote Communist or Socialist while the small peasant owner remains under Christian Democratic influence. About half these small farmers belong to the Coltivatori Diretti and only about 10% to the left-wing Alleanza.

CONTROL WEAKENING: But little by little, especially since the Common Market, the Bonomiana's political controls over the small peasant are weakening. At its recent Rome Congress, some delegates openly protested its alignment with the big monopolies and landlords; its policy of anti-communism "which fills no stomachs"; its support of state investment policies aiding only the big proprietors. Sometimes, although not frequently, the small peasant can now be found on the side of the worker in common struggle.

Among the lowest strata of the small peasants, especially in the South, the Left has won rather strong support. The Communist Party, by parliamentary initiatives in favor of the small farmer—such as abolition of certain taxes on wine producers—has acquired some influence among small peasants not only in the South but also in Tuscany and Umbria. Yet this breakaway of the small peasant from Christian Democratic influence is only beginning.

In facing the most determined Rightist offensive since the war, the Italian Left may be in a somewhat stronger position than was the French Left when it faced a somewhat similar crisis two years ago, and chiefly for two reasons:

One is the Communist influence among sharecroppers, agricultural workers and, now developing, even among some small peasants. The other is that the Italian CP has always managed to avoid isolation. Despite heavy pressures which ruptured its Unity of Action Pact and Consulting Agreement with the Socialist Party, the two parties continue to work together in the unions and in municipal governments, and to maintain, as CP leader Togliatti has put it, "the essential cornerstones of unity of action in politics." The rank and file of the Socialist Party, having fought beside the Communists since the fascist period, remain an effective brake on any leadership policies involving a break with the CP.

THE CHOICE: The CP has, moreover, been able to work together on a broader front with all anti-fascist forces.

The CP believes a new democratic majority can now be achieved in Parliament and it is prepared to support such a majority on the basis of a minimum program: nationalization of the electric power monopolies; agrarian and school reform; and relaxation of international tensions. On all these points democratic forces are in agreement.

Failure of the Summit Conference may make such a goal more difficult to achieve. In any event, Italy is being brought closer to a choice between clerical fascism and real democratic and social reform.

MOUNTED POLICE CHARGE DEMONSTRATORS IN ROME
In other cities the police opened fire, killing eleven

Aneurin Bevan

(Continued from Page 1)

watched with growing concern as their hero struggled between his socialist principles and equally passionate desire for power for his party and class.

In 1954 he could have swung the party conference vote against German rearmament, but as a member of the Executive he remained silent. In 1957 he joined the H-bomb forces by telling the conference that Britain would be "naked in the conference chamber" without it. After this the Tories and the kept press stopped howling and accepted him blandly as part of the "Establishment."

THE LONG MOURNING: But his tour-de-force conference speech last November—a plea for "unity" between what were clearly opposite poles of thinking on defense policy and socialism itself—still did not extinguish rank-and-file hopes that "Nye" would "come back."

Bevan both inspired the best elements in the movement and at times drove them to despair. He was head and shoulders above all others in the capacity to lead. Nobody knows whether by sticking closer to principle and facing longer periods in the wilderness he could have led his party and/or a genuine socialist government. In a flood of obituary tributes from those he most despised, Beaverbrook's **Evening Standard** estimates that he could only have been swept to the top by a crisis of the proportions that put Churchill in power in 1940. Every British socialist will long continue to mourn his passing—and to wonder what might have been.

At the Democratic convention

(Continued from Page 1)

sociation of Southern California delegation by shouting "Hey, Humanists."

7,000 AT RALLY: Three thousand marched to the Sports Arena on civil rights, and 7,000 attended the mass rally at the Shrine Auditorium. Stuart Symington and John F. Kennedy spoke for themselves; Oscar Chapman, Interior Secy. under Truman, spoke for Lyndon Johnson; former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman and Agnes E. Meyer spoke for Adlai Stevenson.

Before the rally, the 3,000 participating in the March on the Conventions movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. and A. Philip Randolph presented their demands to Democratic national chairman Paul Butler. He responded with a strong pro-civil rights declaration in which he said it is time "to stop fiddling and get down to action" and expressed support for the sit-in movement in the South. He promised the "most unequivocal statement of policy on human rights ever written by a major political party."

Kennedy at the rally made a carefully calculated speech. Greeted by mixed applause and boos, he made some guarded statements against discrimination and for equal rights, including sympathy for the student sit-ins. He placated the South by emphasizing discrimination in the North to show that the "rights" issue is not regional.

THE BOOS: Oscar Chapman had a hard time. When he mentioned Harry S. Truman the huge audience responded with long and loud boos. When he stated his support for Lyndon Johnson, the boos almost broke up the meeting.

Sen. Lehman made an impressive personal testimony on civil rights, but neither he nor Agnes Meyers could work up much enthusiasm for Adlai Stevenson.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey pledged to fight for a strong civil rights position and brought the house down by saying that "civil rights in America is an international imperative, far more important than cutting quotas on sugar."

New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell made a blasting speech that the NAACP audience loved. He made it hard for lukewarm Presidential candidates to evoke enthusiasm from the crowd whose slogan was "equal *rights* now." He said "the Negro *people* are the last revolutionary force in America that can salvage our democracy" and he called for "passive, massive insistence" on equal rights.

'OUR OWN HANDS': He shouted that the "Negro people may have to part company with some of our liberal friends. The Negro wants no white man to speak for him." Powell said 29 nations have or are in the process of "breaking the umbilical cord that bound them to Western imperialism," and called on Martin Luther King to expand his activities beyond the South and lead a new national movement for equal rights.

Rev. King charged that "the cause of justice and freedom has been betrayed by both political parties. We have looked patiently to Washington for our constitutional rights, and then we have found a conspiracy of apathy and hypocrisy. Now we are tired. We are compelled to take the struggle into our own limited hands . . ."

The March on the Conventions movement is maintaining an around-the-clock "Freedom Vigil" at the convention arena.

THE WITNESSES: The ritual of hearings before the Resolutions and Platform Committee went on for four days prior to the convention. This committee of 110 members—two from each state, the District of Columbia, Virgin Islands, Canal Zone, and Puerto Rico—was under the chairmanship of Rep. Chester Bowles (Conn.); co-chairman was former U. S. Solicitor General Philip Perlman of Maryland. The committee heard 112 witnesses, most from well-known organizations with well-known views.

Comedian Steve Allen very seriously presented the views of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, urging banning of nuclear tests. American Medical Assn. spokesman Dr. Edward R. Annis stirred a little flurry by attacking proposals for Federal medical care aid to the aged as "socialized medicine." The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee filed a statement calling for the Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Sen. Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut appeared on behalf of "The Committee o° One Million" to oppose admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

AFL-CIO president George Meany led the appearance of several labor leaders, including United Auto Worker president Walter Reuther, steel union head David J. McDonald, and James B. Carey of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers. Their emphasis was on the lag in the economy, especially in the steel industry. Meany called for a shorter work week of 35 hours and McDonald asked for a 32-hour week.

A VOTING LINE IN DIXIE
Whites make it; Negroes wait

TOTAL STRENGTH: Meany told the Platform Committee that "with respect to the menace of world communism, the record of the labor movement is clear. We have always recognized the fatal flaw in the argument that peace—or even survival—was the paramount issue. We have insisted that the issue is not mere survival at all. For this we have been branded 'war-mongers' in the Soviet Union. This charge is false. We want peace. We want disarmament . . . But we are unalterably convinced that we can achieve these ends only if we face the forces of totalitarianism in a posture of strength—total strength. The military strength of the free world must be great enough to deter, and if necessary to defeat, any aggressor. It must be flexible enough to wage limited as well as total war . . ."

The only really live issue before the Platform Committee was civil rights. It is obviously getting harder for the Democratic Party to repeat its meaningless 1956 civil rights plank which the New York **Times** calls "a masterpiece of evasion."

SOMETHING NEW: Roy Wilkins of the NAACP spoke for the 33 labor, liberal, and ethnic groups in the Civil Rights Clearing House demanding a strong civil rights plank. The new feature was the presentation of platform proposals by Martin Luther King Jr. and A. Philip Randolph representing the "March on the Convention Movement." Their statement sharpened the civil rights demand and toughened the stand of the NAACP.

The proposals, which will also be submitted to the Republican Platform Committee, said: "We warn you, gentlemen, that platforms and promises are no longer sufficient to meet the just and insistent demands of the Negro people for immediate free and unconditional citizenship. The time has come for action . . . we shall judge the seriousness and sincerity of the platforms and candidates which you approve in your July convention by what the Congress and the White House do in August . . ."

King and Randolph demanded endorsement of the sit-ins in the South, removal of Sen. Eastland of Mississippi from the Senate, a Negro in the Presidential cabinet, reduction of the representation in Congress of states discriminating on voting rights, and a civil rights law with teeth.

REBEL YELLS: Sen. Spessard L. Holland of Florida, claiming to speak for all Southern Senators plus 50,000,000 Southern citizens, threatened to pull the South out of the Democratic Party if "a position is taken to enforce civil rights by coercion and compulsion, whether by court decree or party platform and policy." Holland was greeted with jeers and derisive laughter when he told the Platform Committee that it could adopt a moderate civil rights platform: "You can put into it what you want—in generalities—but don't be so specific."

Following Sen. Holland the next day, Gov. Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina marched to the speaker's chair carrying a Confederate flag and blasted the demands for a strong civil rights pledge. He attacked the Negro student "sit downs" as lawlessness and boasted that he had jailed 300 young Negroes for this activity. Committee chairman Bowles stopped efforts of members of the committee to question or challenge Gov. Hollings' statements. Negro leaders in the hearing room interpreted this as a bad sign, indicating stubborn refusal by the Democratic Party to come to grips with the civil rights issue. Others felt it was a necessary tactic to hold the Party together.

KENNEDY (arrow) SEEMS LOST
Stevenson won this small skirmish

The most radical proposal to the Platform Committee was made by former California National Committeeman Paul Ziffren. He urged that the Platform finally adopted should be put into practice and should be supported by all Democratic candidates. He told the Committee that "the American people have a right to be cynical about this whole choreography . . . whether the platform represents a group of pious words soon forgotten or a statement of principles and programs." The New York **Times** took a more charitable view of party platforms, saying (July 7) that "it is not entirely unknown for a party in power to execute some of its platform promises . . ."

Actually, it is unlikely that the Democrats, when they resume Congressional sessions in August, will pay any particular attention to the platform they have now adopted.

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PRIZE-WINNING POET ON TRIAL

'Security' questionnaire used for new drive on civil liberties

MAURICE OGDEN of Garden Grove, Calif., is a poet and writer—a 1959 O. Henry Award Winner for short story writing, first award winner in the Los Angeles Poetry Society's 1959 competition, and author of a dramatic ballad called **Hangman**, recently published in pocket-size format. The Hangman of the title . . . *with a yellow twist/ of knotted hemp in his busy fist*, personifies prejudice and repression. He sets up his gallows-tree in the courthouse square and hangs first the alien, then the Jew, then . . . *a man of darker hue/ than the rest of us, by a shade or two.* But his ultimate and unsuspecting victim is the townsman who stands by while all the others go, until no voice remains to cry *'Stay" for me in the empty square.*

But few poets live on prizes alone, so Ogden works for a living at whatever jobs he can land. In 1957, while working for a private firm handling no secret work of any nature as far as he knew, he was requested to fill out a Personnel Security Questionnaire (PSQ). Later he learned that the request was prompted by a visit to the firm from the FBI, but without this knowledge he filled it out accurately, he says, including the section on non-affiliation with organizations on the Attorney General's list.

The PSQ form was then processed by the firm as if it were an application for Secret clearance, although his job involved handling no secret work. No grant or denial of clearance was received.

ENTER, THE HANGMAN: In September, 1959, Ogden was indicted under a law previously applied only to persons accused of income tax evasion, and charged —falsely, he insists—with having made two misstatements on the PSQ form. A seven-month pre-trial battle followed, during which Ogden's attorney, Daniel G. Marshall, sought to force from the government a suitable bill of particulars on Ogden's alleged misstatements.

During proceedings in November and February, first Federal Judge Ernest A. Tolin and then Judge Harry C. Westover seemed to join in the defense plea for sufficient particularization to prepare a defense. Judge Tolin remarked on the government's tendency to be "cozy" with documentation of its charges. Judge Westover questioned whether Ogden should have to wait until his trial to know what the evidence was going to be against him.

The prosecution succeeded in sidestepping demands for the names of witnesses, but on May 2 submitted an amended bill of particulars saying it would offer proof of Ogden's "relationship" with the "Communist Party, USA, its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates" and, on a second count, his "relationship and influence with several front organizations utilized by the Communist Party . . . and . . . with several organizations not listed [on the Attorney General's list]." The organizations thereafter specified are: League of Young Progressives, Equal Education Committee, Students for Democratic Action, Progressive Party, Marxist Study Group, Specialist Theory Study Group, Oklahoma Committee for Democracy and Education, Westminster Foundation and the American Veterans Committee.

ENTERING WEDGE? Of the organizations specified Ogden says he actually belonged to the AVC and a Progressive Party campus group in Oklahoma.

As the GUARDIAN went to press Ogden was slated to go on trial July 11. His defense committee states that the prosecution has agreed with the defense that this will be the government's first attempt to apply the section of the law under which Ogden was indicted—18 U.S.C. Sec. 1001—in the area of PSQ forms, which are estimated to have been filled out by some 20,000,000 job holders. If the government succeeds against Ogden, his committee states, "anyone who has signed a loyalty oath in private industry can be tried." Ogden himself says, "I intend to win this fight. It will be a significant victory over the Hangman."

Contributions may be sent to Maurice Ogden Defense Committee, 9891 Pacific Ave., Anaheim, Calif. Copies of **Hangman** will acknowledge contributions.

MRS. WATSON VINDICATED

1st Amendment teacher wins reinstatement

THE PENNSYLVANIA Supreme Court on June 30 ordered the reinstatement of Mrs. Goldie E. Watson, along with Mrs. Angelina Intille, Mrs. Sadie T. Atkinson and Thomas Deacon, in the Philadelphia public school system.

Mrs. Watson was dismissed from her job as an elementary teacher six years ago when she refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The court has now ruled that refusal to testify did not prove her incompetent to teach (the grounds on which the school board had dismissed her). The ruling was based on the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the Harry Slochower case.

Mrs. Watson, who had taught in the public schools of Philadelphia for more than 20 years, had had long association with the struggle for civil rights. She had been active in the Progressive Party and had seconded the nomination of Henry Wallace for President at the 1948 convention. She had also been an important worker in the Joe Rainey campaign in Philadelphia—the first serious attempt to send a Negro to Congress from the 4th Congressional District.

TRAIL BLAZER: She was the only Negro woman to challenge the Un-American Activities Committee on the basis of the First Amendment. Aware of the risk, she said that as a Negro she did not enjoy full citizenship guaranteed in the Constitution, but that the First Amendment gave her the right of free speech and association.

The Board of Education termed her refusal to answer committee questions "civic irresponsibility" and on June 4, 1954, voted 9 to 3 to fire her. The only Negro member of the board, the late Dr. John P. Turner, was not present at that board meeting, but endorsed her position when the board held its hearing.

JOBS OFFERED: Mrs. Watson told the Philadelphia **Tribune** that the local NAACP refused her membership application after she was dropped from the school system although she had been a National Board member and had first proposed the Equal Rights Conferences which are now held annually.

She has successfully operated a dress shop during the years while her case was being fought in the courts and expresses some reluctance now to give up her business to return to the classroom, although two school principals have offered her teaching positions. She will be due about $25,000 in back salary, minus her earnings in the shop, if she signs a contract with the school board.

The Cuba story

(Continued from Page 1)

Venezuelan sovereignty."

IKE'S EXPLANATION: Eisenhower said he cut Cuba's sugar quota "to reduce our reliance for a major food product upon a nation which has embarked upon a deliberate policy of hostility toward the U.S." He carefully avoided giving the impression that his action was a reprisal by questioning Cuba's ability to meet its U.S. quota in the light of its "steadily increasing" sugar commitments to "the Communist bloc." The reason for this avoidance was Article 16 of the Charter of the OAS, which holds:

"No state may use or encourage the use of coercive measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another state and obtain from it advantages of any kind."

The cut in the Cuban sugar quota was drastic. Cuba normally sells to the U.S. about half of the 6,000,000 tons of sugar it produces. Eisenhower cut this by 700,000 tons, and also deprived Cuba of an extra sale of 156,000 tons this year to make up the estimated U.S. deficit of 500,000 tons from other suppliers.

WISHFUL THINKING: More disturbing than the cut in the sugar quota was a New York **Times** story (July 7) that "some officials" in Washington were "privately expressing" concern over "the safety of U.S. citizens in Cuba" and were reviewing "evacuation" plans, fearing "incidents." The story gave the impression of wishful thinking, for the officials remained nameless, "evacuation" plans were carefully confined to "wives and children" of U.S. officials, while Americans returning from Cuba spoke ecstatically of Cuban hospitality and the Cuban government continued making innumerable concessions to encourage American tourists.

The **Times** also reported that, at the annual meeting of the Natl. Assn. of Attorneys General in San Francisco on July 6, Louis Wyman of New Hampshire, chairman of its Internal Security Committee and the lone Republican on the committee, read a report which considered "economic sanctions" not enough when Cuba "discriminated against . . . American properties and American citizens and companies."

Wyman, the witch-hunter who sent Dr. Willard Uphaus to jail, told reporters that committee members assumed "force would be involved" in protecting U.S. interests in Cuba. Several association members, however, immediately attacked the report and one committee member, Michigan's Attorney General Paul Adams, rose to disassociate himself from the report.

Although there seemed little likelihood of U.S. armed intervention in Cuba, the apparently inspired **Times** story about unnamed Washington officials and Wyman's statement indicated that there was a lunatic fringe which would like to provoke such intervention. Khrushchev reminded such hot-heads that "the U.S. is now not at such an unattainable distance" from Soviet rockets.

WASHINGTON HAZE: Also, as columnist Walter Lippmann noted (July 5), if the U.S. intervened to protect property rights, "most of the governments and people of this hemisphere, virtually all of Asia and Africa, and the greater part of Europe, would sympathize with Castro."

Eisenhower's announcement of the cut in Cuba's sugar quota revealed Washington's continued inability to comprehend that, after a genuinely popular revolution in an underdeveloped country, private property rights often have to give way to human rights. In asserting its right to expropriate foreign-owned concerns and pay what it considers just compensation, the Cuban government was being even more conciliatory than the U.S. when the American government after the revolution of 1776 confiscated without compensation the properties owned by royalists.

Washington's action was apparently precipitated by Cuba's seizure of the Texaco Oil refinery on June 29 and of the Standard Oil and the Shell (British-Dutch) Oil refineries on July 1 because they had refused to process Soviet crude oil bought by the Cuban government. The price of the Soviet oil was a dollar less per barrel than the Texaco, Standard and Shell oil from Venezuela. Moscow has contracted to supply a quarter of Cuba's daily need of 60,000 barrels.

THE PRECEDENT: There was a Latin American precedent to Cuba's action. Mexican President Lazaro Cardenas in 1938 expropriated "for public and social welfare" U.S. and British oil concerns when they refused to abide by a government award of wage increases to the oil workers. The U.S. at the time called Cardenas a "Communist" and predicted that the Mexicans would be unable to operate the refineries; the Church prayed for Cardenas' downfall and one Mexican general was ready to lead a counter-revolution.

But under government ownership Pemex (Petroleos Mexicanos) prospered even as it lowered the cost of oil and gas to consumers. The American companies demanded $200,000,000 and the British companies demanded $250,000,000 compensation; they settled in 1947—when final payments were made—for $23,995,991 and $21,250,000, respectively.

ACTION DOUBTED: At GUARDIAN press time, the U.S. was reportedly planning to ask OAS members next month to impose a trade and arms embargo on and sever diplomatic relations with Cuba. The request would be based on the 1954 OAS declaration—bulldozed by the late John Foster Dulles—that "domination of any American state by international communism" would justify such measures.

Few U.S. officials, however, were optimistic about joint OAS action. There was strong support for the Castro government within the Mexican, Venezuelan and Peruvian administrations. Even Argentine President Frondizi was reported (**Times**, July 10) saying that there were no grounds for action against Cuba since it had committed no external aggression. The **Times** added that Asians and Africans shared "the Latin American coolness toward the U.S. case against Dr. Castro."

Meanwhile, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa arrived in New York on July 9 and asked for United Nations action by accusing the U.S. of economic aggression against Cuba before the UN Security Council.

CUBA'S POSITION: In the lucid and eloquent note to the U.S. Ambassador on Nov. 13, 1959, the Cuban Foreign Ministry described what it considered to be the proper basis for Cuban-American amity, which still holds true:

"The Cuban government and the Cuban people are anxious to live in peace and harmony with the government and the people of the U.S. on the basis of mutual respect and reciprocal benefits. Such things are extremely easy to accomplish if, on the one hand, the transitory interests of a relatively small group of North American citizens are no longer considered and treated as the permanent interests of the majority, which ought to preside over the relations between two peoples whose mutual friendship is traditional; . . . and if, on the other hand, the counter-revolutionary activities of the Cuban criminals of war exiled in American territory are definitely stopped, and the North Americans who instigate and support those criminal activities against Cuba are no longer approved."

BOOKS

The Golden Rule

ONE WAY to turn the temporary adversity of prison life into a blessing is to share vicariously in the illustrious missions of others for peace. The dramatic story of **The Voyage of the Golden Rule*** spoke to my heart and helped overcome a sense of loneliness.

It is true that Albert Bigelow, who describes his adventure into the Pacific to protest nuclear weapons testing, refuses any acclaim for himself and his shipmates, insisting that they stood by principle. Yet we know that it was the incarnation of principle with flesh and blood that arrested the attention of so many in all parts of the world. The remarkable voyage was a testimony that it was "time to do something about peace, not just talk about peace."

In mid-afternoon, Feb. 10, 1958, the **Golden Rule**, a 30-foot ketch with 500 square feet of sail, a small 24-hp. auxiliary motor, and bunks for four, set out from San Pedro, Calif., for the bomb-test area. Manning the tiny craft were Albert Bigelow and his shipmates, Bill Huntington, George Willoughby and David Gale. They were all convinced Quakers. Sponsored by a coordinating committee of leaders of several American organizations working for world peace called Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, these men were carrying out an act the idea of which had been born spontaneously, intuitively from the depths of their being.

THE FIRST TRY failed: David Gale became ill. But the ketch set sail again on March 25, with Orion Sherwood in place of Gale. Nature smiled on the second effort. Days and nights were filled with watching, mending, cooking, philosophizing praying. Twenty-three days without the sight of ship or aircraft. Anyone who has made a transcontinental trip in a crowded automobile knows how even the most even-tempered face problems of human adjustment. Bert Bigelow confessed that all "got testy, grouchy, and irritated at times."

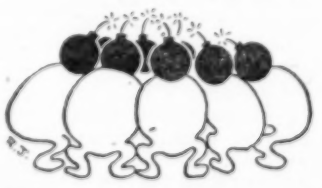
It turned out that the mighty Pacific gave less trouble than a mighty bureaucracy in Washington. There had been no law previously preventing anyone from sailing anywhere in the world on the high seas. On April 11 the AEC issued a "regulation" which made it a crime for U.S. citizens to enter the Eniwetok-Bikini area.

BUT WHAT appeared to be a legal threat turned out to be a moral victory. "The lofty government had heard our voice." The crew now faced the question whether to try to take on supplies outside the three-mile limit at Honolulu and proceed to the bomb-test area, or to put in at Honolulu. They chose the latter course, believing that an open confrontation—moral, not legal—with the government would be better.

The government was not restrained by fine moral and legal points. With a temporary injunction imposed, the **Golden Rule** could not be moved one foot from where she was tied at dock. It was presumed to be a clever trick to tie up the departure of the **Golden Rule** until the tests were over. Lawyer Katsuro Miho was able to get the ear of the court long enough to declare, "My clients wish to inform the court that they will attempt to go despite the temporary injunction."

In one hour the **Golden Rule** was under way, but as it was clearing the sea buoy, it was apprehended by a Coast Guard cutter. An inconsequential "violation" was discovered, the improper spacing of the letters on the bow, and the crew was arrested and again hailed into court. Refusing to accept bail, Bigelow and his friends were taken to the Honolulu jail to await trial.

The **Golden Rule** was prevented from realizing its objective, but its spirit was picked up by the arrival of the **Phoenix** whose skipper, Earl Reynolds, a scientist, with his wife and two children, was completing a journey around the world. The Reynolds caught the strong purpose of the **Golden Rule.** The final part of their journey to end in Japan would take them directly through the bomb-test area. As an anthropologist Reynolds had drawn his own conclusions about the



great danger to humanity of radioactive fallout. Our story cannot include the **Phoenix's** own subsequent clash with government forces.

AMONG THE MANY educational points I would magnify here from the experience of the brave men of the **Golden Rule** is that the time to intuit, refine and adopt great ethical, religious and political principles is while a learning group is in the process of a social or peace experiment. Teaching and preaching are so often futile because they are merely verbal, phraseological — just dallying with ideas in a vacuum. For men of the **Golden Rule,** civil disobedience was disobedience with civility, politeness, or consideration. So conscientious disobedience of law became considerate.

Five ground rules emerged, all strongly supported by reference to Thoreau and Gandhi:

- Considerate disobedience should be undertaken when individual conscience is violated by the state.
- Considerate disobedience should be undertaken when the law requires injustice to another.
- Disobedience is unusual, exceptional, illustrated by Thoreau's declaration that "they are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."
- Disobedience is harmless, peaceful, nonviolent.
- The disobedient realize consequences and only the disobedient suffer. Any suffering as a

result of considerate disobedience is accepted cheerfully and without complaint.

So I believe deeply that all should read this moving story, not to feel compelled to accept its ideology and method, but to catch a spirit and a determination, and to find their own road to peace and never depart from it. There is immense power in the process as well as in the goal. The **Golden Rule** and the **Phoenix** never reached the bomb-test area, but the U.S. government had to take serious cognizance of their effort, and no one can estimate the millions of people newly alerted to the worst threat that the world has ever faced.

—Willard Uphaus

THE VOYAGE OF THE GOLDEN RULE, by Albert Bigelow. Doubleday & Co. 286 pp. $3.95.

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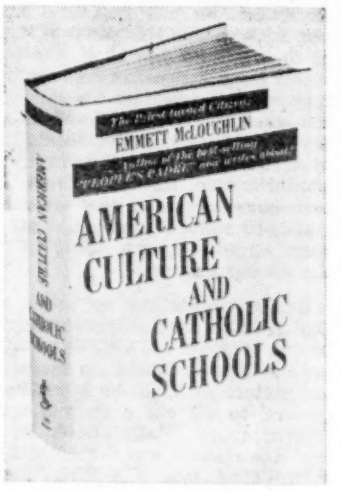
AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF MUCH CONSEQUENCE...

In April, 1954, Beacon Press published a book by Emmett McLoughlin, a former Franciscan priest who left the Catholic Church "to serve God in the slums."

The book, **PEOPLE'S PADRE,** was given the silent treatment.



Two years later, a tally was made of reviews of the book. A few southern papers had given a total of twelve inches of space to **PEOPLE'S PADRE** reviews. Outside of the religious field, only two national magazines had reviewed **PEOPLE'S PADRE**... the **Psychiatric Quarterly** Supplement and **The Nation.**

A distinguished newspaper asked Reinhold Niebuhr to review the book—and then refused to publish his favorable review. (He described Emmett McLoughlin as ". . . a very impressive person, gifted beyond the ordinary mortal with the graces of courage and charity.")

Despite this blackout, the book is in its eighteenth printing—and has sold ALMOST A QUARTER OF A MILLION COPIES!

* * *

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* * *

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LOS ANGELES

Reception for
ATTY. JEAN PESTANA
8 p.m., — Friday, July 22
CHANNING HALL
2936 W. 9th St. (Just East of Vermont)
Reports and slides from her recent trip as a delegate to the International Women's Assembly, and visit to many European Countries and USSR.
Refreshments — Donation
Auspices: L.A. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, 326 W. 3rd St., Rm. 318, L.A. 13, Calif. MAdison 5-2169 & 5-2160.

MINNEAPOLIS

10TH ANNUAL WORKER PICNIC AND REUNION. All day Sun., Aug. 21. Spring Lake Indian Mounds, on the Mississippi. Auspices: Minnesota-Dakota Freedom of the Press Committee.

CHICAGO

"THE MESSAGE OF THE SOUTH"
Panel on the Southern Student Sit-In Demonstrations.
MYRA T. WEISS, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice President.
JOSEPH P. KING, Pres. Washington Park Forum.
WM. T. BAIRD, Ill. Progressive Party Committeeman, 1952.
EUGENE FELDMAN, Editor "Southern Newsletter."
PERRY CARTWRIGHT, Bus. Manager, "Southern Newsletter."
Tuesday, July 26 — 7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Co-op Hall 54th & Harper Av.
Donation 75c, Students 25c.
Auspices: Hyde Park Labor Forum.

MYRA T. WEISS, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice-President, will speak on: "Peace and the Summit Collapse." Sat., July 23, 8:15 p.m., Fine Arts Bldg., 410 S. Michigan Av., Rm. 312. Donation 90c, Students 25c.
Auspices: Militant Labor Forum

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THE GALLERY

PACIFIST REV. MAURICE McCRACKIN, who went to jail last year for refusing to pay income taxes because they are used for war, will stand trial before the Cincinnati Presbytery on a charge that he exceeded civil law and church regulations. The charge was brought by a Presbytery committee which found that "his repudiation of a particular law has led to repudiation in the process of law." The committee also saw as an offense his encouragement of others not to pay income tax. McCrackin refused to cooperate during his Federal trial but he has agreed to cooperate in the church proceedings. No date for the trial has been set. If he is found guilty he faces one of five degrees of censure ranging from reprimand to excommunication. . . . Two physicians at the National Catholic Family Life Convention in San Antonio disagreed on whether sex should be discussed in mixed groups in the church's premarital counseling. Dr. John Cavanagh, a Washington psychiatrist, argued that marital relations should be discussed scientifically in mixed sessions to clear away confusion. Dr. Herbert Ratner, Commissioner of Health in Oak Park, Ill., said men and women should be segregated during discussions "to preserve the mystery and excitement of sex for each partner." . . . Anglican Bishop R. C. Mortimer told a service of British doctors that it was the "Christian view that all ordinary means must be used to prolong life. But not extraordinary means—means which involve very great expense, inconvenience or hardship and which at the same time offer no reasonable expectation either of success or benefit." He also complained that physicians are sometimes too reluctant to tell the patient his true chances for recovery. This, the bishop said, "makes the work of the clergy in preparing people to meet death unnecessarily difficult."

LORD KILBRACKEN in County Cavan, Ireland, saw an ad in the **New Yorker** some months ago of a girl wrapped in a Martex towel. The caption read: "This towel has no peer." As a Peer of the Realm, Lord Kilbracken wrote to the Martex Co. offering himself as a peer for the towel. Martex vice president William D. Hartman answered Kilbracken telling him that a dozen towels were on the way. He added jokingly that he would also have sent his Mercedes-Benz car but his wife objected. Mercedes ads also claim their product is peerless.

Lancaster, London Daily Expres
"Maudie! Unless you're mad keen to become the pin-up of the Pentagon, I should advise you to take cover at once!"

Kilbracken wrote that he had been informed by customs that "a certain foreign parcel" had arrived. But the red tape and duty payments were hardly worth the effort.

Kilbracken added: "I appreciate your kind thought regarding the Mercedes, and regret that Mrs. Hartman is taking this rather selfish attitude. I feel you should stand up rather more stoutly for your opinions.

"I hesitate to suggest that any weakness on your part in tihs matter will merely confirm the well-known European belief that the ladies in your country wear the trousers—when not draped in Martex towels."

THE COLLEGE OF ARMS of Britain's House of Lords declared that babies born to the wives of peers via artificial insemination should not inherit titles of nobility. To allow them to succeed to their peerage and sit in the House of Lords would constitute "a fraud on the sovereignty," the College said. . . . Actress Mamie Van Doren said: "Hollywood invented sex and now the Europeans and South Americans are taking it away from us." . . . A resolution of a special session of the General Assembly of Arkansas reproduced as an ad in the **New Yorker read:** "This we know—where industry thrives, there also grows opportunity for the people. . . . Therefore be it resolved, that in this fifth successful year of a greedy expanded program for industrial development, we rededicate ourselves to the preservation and enhancement of the Arkansas opportunity for manufacturers." . . . The National Council of Negro Women is planning a memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune, its founder, to be erected in Washington by 1963. . . . Bergdorf Goodman's men's shops in New York is offering a "handsome Swiss silk tie with the word 'Peace' translated into seven languages and woven into a neat diagonal stripe" for $8.50. Peace never did come cheap. **—Robert E. Light**

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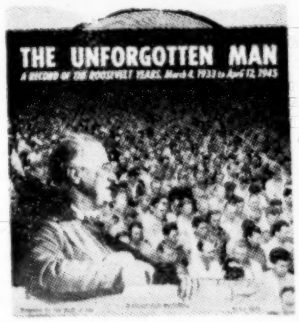

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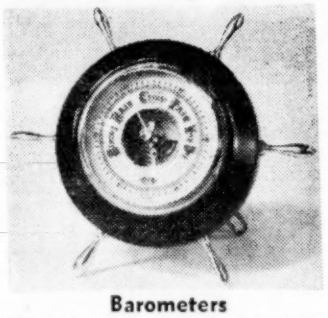

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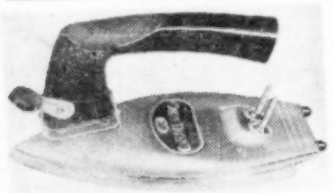

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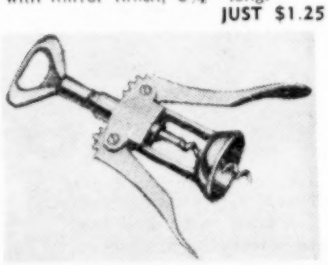

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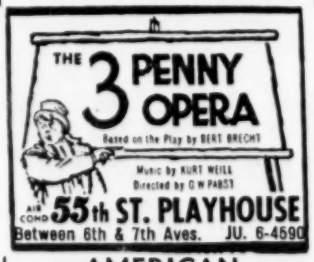
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the SPECTATOR

Robeson in East Berlin

BERLIN

PAUL ROBESON paid his first visit to the German Democratic Republic last weekend when he made a surprise appearance at the annual press festival. Three thousand workers applauded when he joined the international presidium of socialist editors at the festival's opening in the Sport Halle.

It was only a short visit this time: Robeson made his second and final public appearance the next night on an outdoor stage in a packed Stalin Allee, an avenue of handsome apartment buildings for workers transformed into a carnival street for the press celebration. Despite an intermittent drizzle which began after dark, thousands waited in their light summer clothing to see the man many Americans regard as their best ambassador.

Protected by a large red umbrella, he sang the Yiddish partisans' song, "Sog nich keyn mol," and the Thaelmann battalion's Spanish civil war song, "Freiheit."

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE at his hotel, Robeson said he had hoped to come long before to express his thanks to the people of the GDR for the help they gave him when he was prevented from traveling by the U.S. State Department. He recalled that it was they who made it possible for him to make his first TV film with Earl Robinson, shown here two years ago on his 60th birthday. He promised to come for a longer visit in August, adding: "I will be here very often."

Speaking warmly of his reception in England, where he has been playing the part of Othello in Stratford-on-Avon, he said: "It was a great honor to play in Shakespeare's birthplace. It was a complete reply to reaction and the State Department, which had hoped that I would never be able to re-establish my career." He added: "I will certainly go back to America at some point. I will not allow the reactionaries to take my country away from me."

He emphasized that he was a folk rather than an opera singer. He said with a laugh: "Oh, I can twist a few classical songs now and then." He continued: "From now on every concert I do in London will be addressed to the workers; the price of tickets will be gauged to their pockets. If others want to come, they can come, but they will have to come to the kind of places where the workers gather, trade union halls, workers' clubs. In America, when I return home, I will sing in churches and trade unions." He explained to the German press representatives that the church was often the center of militant action in American Negro life.

Robeson intends to spend six months each year in the socialist countries. "I will go to the people now. I will become once again what I really am, a folk singer."

HE EXPOUNDED theories of music he has developed in recent years, illustrating them with examples in a kind of informal concert. He had found a number of Scottish and Hebridean songs which were so much like Negro songs that at first he was inclined to believe there was some direct connection. But then he found African and Chinese songs which bore the same astonishing resemblance to American Negro music, and he came to the conclusion that all this folk music must originally have been based on the pentatonic scale—"Played on the lack keys of the piano," he explained. "No prejudice against the white keys," he added.

"The basis of folk song is the chant. 'Water Boy' is not a lyrical song; it is a conversation." He called out the words of the song as if talking to someone; then he inflected the same call, so that it began to sound like a chant. Finally he worked up the chant into the song. "I don't sing words, I sing speech," he said. "That's what folk music is. In speech there is truth . . . The song conveys the truth of the conversation."

ONE OF THE GERMAN reporters asked him what he thought of jazz, and there was some tension in the room This is a controversial subject in the GDR. Robeson produced from somewhere a pamphlet-sized book entitled **Negro Songs of Protest.** Jazz, he said, arose from these songs. He opened the book. "Here's one." He began to sing "I Feel My Hell A-risin.' " First he sang it straight. Then he broke off and sang it in jazz rhythm. "That's what I call real jazz. If Louis Armstrong would blow that—O.K.! But when it gets to be 'How deep is the ocean, how high is the sky,' that's a contamination of jazz, of Negro music."

He sang part of "Come With Twenty Links of Chain," which he called the first blues in existence. He then quoted a poem of Langston Hughes, "Way down South in Dixie, break the heart of me," and said that, too, was a blues.

"GREAT FOLK MUSIC—that's what jazz should be. It came out of the heart of my people. Commercial jazz—well, one dances to it, it's nice to dance to, but if you want to talk seriously—the final effect of jazz in its present form must be destructive and not constructive. The real folk jazz is still there to be used. Let some of the bands learn that."

Robeson looks his sixty-two years today, but as he sang his "conversations" you stopped thinking about age and saw before you only one of the great actors of our time, a passionate artist.

"I am happy to see the NATIONAL GUARDIAN represented here," he said to me. He told the German press representatives about the deportation of Cedric Belfrage from the United States and explained the paper's militant, progressive role, declaring that he too sometimes contributed to the GUARDIAN.

—Edith Anderson